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It was stated before that these Chibhālīs, Muhammadans now, are in fact of the same race as the Dogrās, who have remained Hindūs. Several tribes of these Muhammadans have the same name as certain of the castes in Dugar. Thus, some of the subdivisions of the Hindū Rājput, as Chib, Jarāl, Pū, &c., exist also among the Muhammadans; and the more general designation of Muslimān Rājput is commonly enough used.

These Muhammadanised Hindūs keep to some of the old caste rules; not, indeed, as to eating, for all Muhammadans will eat together; but in the matter of intermarriage. They will either marry in their own separate caste, or will take a wife from the one below them, and give their daughters to the caste above them.

Besides Rājput, there are many Muhammadanised Jats in Chibhāl; the Jat is the prevalent cultivating caste in the Panjāb, but it occurs but rarely in Dugar. In the eastern part of Chibhāl are Muhammadan Thakurs.

Besides these, there are many races among the Chibhālīs whose origin it is not easy to discover. An important and high caste is one called Sūlan; it prevails in the part between Pith and the Jhelam; it has a position among these Muhammadans nearly like that of the Mīnas among the Dogrās. A general name for this and the other high castes of Chibhāl is Sūlā.

In the higher part of the Dardhāl Valley, to the north-east of Rājput, are some people who are called Malikā. This is a Muhammadan title given by Akbar. The Maliks were appointed by that king to the charge of the Passes that led into Kashmir. Villages were granted to them to be held by the tenure of this service; they were to defend the Passes, and appear in the field when required with from 100 to 500 men;* the charge became hereditary, and these Maliks of Dardhāl, as well as those on the other frontiers of Kashmir, doubtless represent the original officers of Akbar. What race they were of to begin with I cannot tell; those at Dardhāl, though in some respects resembling the rest of the Chibhālīs, still have something distinctive in their appearance;

* I have here quoted from Baron von Hügel.

864 an entire village of these near the fort. There are a few Mu-
 101 hammadans who probably are converted Thakars. The Thakars
 gave just those characteristics by which we described the Paháris
 generally.

543 Besides the Hindús and Muhammadans, there are two or three
 146 hamlets towards the head of Bhutá, eleven houses in all, in-
 habited by Húts or Buddhists from Zaskár, on the farther side
 of the great range. I have only mention their occurrence; the
 characters of that Tibetan race they belong to will be given
 farther on, under the heading of Ladák.

771 The people of Pádar seem a good deal given to serpent
 worship; they do not, however, separate it from their observance
 of the rites of the Hindú religion; the serpent is reckoned among
 the many devas or gods recognised by that faith; one sees
 temples raised to different *serp-devas*, or serpent-gods, which are
 adorned with wood-carvings of snakes in many forms.*

176 The earliest state of Pádar that I can hear of is in a period
 564 that ended more than two hundred years ago; then the chief
 643 men, or the rulers, or the ruling caste, were Húts. Hút is an old
 Hindú word for a ruler who (in those parts, at all events) is less
 in power than a Raja. The Húts of Pádar were Rájputs; every
 village or every two or three villages had its Hút, an inde-
 pendent ruler, who used to make war against his neighbour the
 next-door Hút. The district of Pángt was, I believe, in the same
 state. There are descendants of these Húts in Pádar to this
 day; they have taken to cultivation and till the bit of land that
 has been preserved to them; but they still keep their caste dis-
 tinct; they will marry the daughters of Thakars, but will not give
 theirs to them in marriage.†

175 That state of things, so pleasant for the Húts, was broken in
 upon by Raja Chatar Singh, of Chamba, who was eight genera-
 tions back from Raja Sri Singh, who was ruler in 1809; the time

* One of these temples is where there comes out a hot spring of considerable volume which has a temperature of 187°; besides of sulphureted hydrogen escape from it. Here a building-place has been built, and a diwanah or meeting-place for Rajas.

† Húts are not with us in Kashmir.

596 army service. During the time that these Poonch men have
 934 been away they have kept touch with their homes by sending
 back amounts from their pay; small sums they would seem to be
 outside Poonch, but of greater value there, where much of the
 937 food is grown, and the necessities of life are small. These men
 of Poonch—and this applies to Gilgit men also—will sometimes
 remain away from their wives and families for five or six
 years, the old father or even the wife tending the land, a small
 portion of which most of them own and return to for a few
 weeks to see their families; the wives will have remained
 faithful, for the women of Poonch have always been held to a
 high moral standard. Although the men of Poonch may,
 when away, contract a temporary marriage—in any case the
 Muslims amongst them being permitted four wives—they
 demand of their women that they should behave as though
 their husbands were at home, the humiliation brought upon
 him in the event of his wife's adultery being so great that he
 will demand the most severe penalty of the woman. Only
 recently I had personal knowledge of a sepoy who had been
 away from his wife for some years. His brother had written
 telling him that his wife was becoming loose in her morals,
 then that she was pregnant. The husband returned home on
 leave, saw his brother, next the brothers of his wife, and then
 his wife; she was in the kitchen sitting before the stove when he
 entered, as she stood up to greet him he saw her condition,
 and without a word fired a burst from his sten gun; she stag-
 gered forward to fall at his feet, and well knowing why he had
 done this, with her dying gasp begged his forgiveness. Her
 brothers and her father knew why he had taken this dramatic
 step; they made no protest; in their eyes he had only done as
 they would have with one of their wives under such circum-
 stances, and he was allowed to flee back to his unit.

296 In the villages or close to the few houses round the farms
 there is always to be seen a man or woman washing clothes in
 the manner of the place, by stamping the dirt out of them in a
 water-filled, hollowed-out stone by the stream. In that part
 352 there are also to be found the little round huts, often built of
 357 straw, housing the large mill-stones which grind the corn
 grown themselves. These are usually attended to by the old
 man, who has retired from active work, his charge
 for grinding being a percentage of the flour.

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his family subsequent to their acceptance of Islam. Both Hindu and Musalmán Chibs repair annually to the tomb of Shādi Khān at a place in the Kālī Dhar hills in the Naoshera taluk. Like the Dogrā Rājputs, the Chibs look upon service as the sole career for a man, but both Hindus and Musalmāns till the soil. They are a fighting people, and the spirit of adventure takes them out of their own country. They follow the caste rules of the Hindu Rājputs, but are perhaps stronger and more muscular than the Dogrās to the east. Besides the Chibs, there are Musalmán Rājputs to the west of the Chenāb—the Jais, the Bhacs (unfavourably known in Akhnoir), the Gakhars, and many others. It should be noticed that the Hindu Chibs give their daughters in marriage to the ruling family of Jammu and Kashmir.

[564]

[582]

The Bāmbās and Khakhās

[101]

Drew, in his book *Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, suggests that the Bāmbās and Khakhās of the Jhelum valley might be classed under the head Chibhāl. Very little is known as to when these people migrated into Muzaffarābād and Uri districts, or whence they came; but it is generally admitted that they had a foreign origin. It is probable that the Khakhās have occupied the country on the left bank of the Jhelum for 300 years or more, and that the Bāmbās, who live on the right bank of the river, came in yet earlier. The Khakhās, who enjoy the proud title of Rājā, are, like the Chibs, Musalmán Rājputs, and trace their descent to Rājā Mai Rāthor. They regard themselves as belonging to the Janjūah tribe. The Bāmbās, who are styled Sultāns, deprecate a Hindu origin. They claim to belong to the Kureshi tribe, and say that the name Bāmbā is a corruption of Bān-Hāshim, and that they are descended from Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad. The Khakhās and Bāmbās have a privileged status in the Jhelum valley, and their power has varied according to the weakness or strength of the central authority. Under the Afghāns, the Khakhās and Bāmbās paid little to their overlord, and were practically independent. The Sikhs tightened their hold over the Jhelum valley, but the Khakhās and Bāmbās retained certain privileges.

[631]

The Gōjars

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Numerically the Gōjars are of some importance, both in Jammu, where they number 151,700, and in Kashmir, where they are returned at 125,650. Some of them have settled down to agriculture; but the great majority are herdsmen, and in the summer months move up to the splendid grazing-grounds above the forests with their buffaloes and goats. They are Musalmāns by religion, and many of the Gōjar tribes speak

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- (a) Abortion.
- (d) Celibacy.
- (e) Abstinence.
- (f) Birth control.
- (g) Certain social customs.
- (h) Prolonged lactation.
- (i) Hygicary.

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Of the positive checks, war is becoming a rare phenomenon these days and starvation and famine though in a mild form does affect the birth-rate in the Jammu Province and the Frontier Districts while the Kashmir Province is in this respect better situated. As regards disease this check also remains full play in Jammu Province where Plague cuts off the natural increase to a great extent and malarial fever is responsible for considerable mortality and is thus unfavourable to fertility. In Kathua and other malarial localities most of the deaths are due to the malarial fever and the surviving population is reduced to a considerably low pitch of vitality which make the sufferers an easy prey to other diseases. The venereal diseases act as another powerful positive check by causing premature death of the sufferers and leaving their children to propagate misery and further suffering.

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As regards the preventive checks female infanticide which was much in vogue amongst the Rajputs is considerably reduced—thanks to the measures taken by His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur to stamp out this inhuman practice from his territories. Abortion is not practiced by the people as a means of checking larger number of births but is only resorted to prevent illegitimate births which the society regards as an unpardonable sin. Again celibacy and voluntary abstinence being against human nature play a very inferior part in limiting births and the Neo-Malthusian methods of "Birth Control" are very little known in the rural areas not to speak of their being put into practice by the uneducated villager who is so reckless about protection of children. Confidential enquiries made regarding the sale of rubber goods from private practitioners and Chemists and Druggists who stock these articles only go to show that even in the cities the use of these methods is practiced on too small a scale to have any appreciable result. The Customs Department which was also requested to supply the figures of import of these articles regretted that separate figures were not available. The only preventive check which has proved highly effective in controlling the birth-rate in the advanced countries is almost absent in the State.

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As regards social customs of hypergamy which forbids the marriage of a girl with a man of a social group equal to or inferior to her and forces her to marry a man of a superior group is completely absent in the State while practice of prolonged lactation which results in decreased fecundity being within the knowledge of common people does act as a very mild preventive check.

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● 572

The "postponement of marriage" especially in the case of girls acts as a powerful check in restraining births but this check also has had very little play in India where marriage amongst the Hindus being a religious necessity enjoined by the Shastras is universal and the practice of marrying girls before puberty resulting in high birth-rate was universally recognised. Now by the passing of legislative enactment within the State the age of marriage has been raised to 18 for boys and 14 for girls which it is hoped will prevent much misery consequent upon deaths of child-women and of children produced by them, will instead of acting as a check favour the growth of population by preventing deaths.

4[On population -- Analyst]

CAUSES OF DEFICIENCY OF SEX RATIO

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¹⁶² of females than other divisions, but the existence of only 842 females per 1,000 males shows that the severity of climate is a strong factor acting adversely on the growth of the female content of the population. In the first place there is large number of male births than females and the climate being cold there are greater dangers from chills and exposures to young children and old persons of delicate constitutions. Since greater regard and preferential care of the male children secures immediate medical relief from them, the absence of such regard in the case of females exposes them to greater risks.

¹⁶² 187. *Causes of Deficiency of Sex-ratio.*—(1) *Female Infanticide.*—The custom of female infanticide which has its origin in the prohibitive expense of marrying daughters in high caste Hindus used to be common in the Duggar country especially among the Rajputs which accounts for the great dearth of females in that community, there being 754 females to 1,000 males. It cannot be said with certainty that the practice has altogether vanished although there can be no denial of its being considerably on the wane. The measures taken during this decade under the inspiration of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur who has created a special trust (Dhandevi Memorial Fund) for the marriage of Rajput girls and also announced that for each female child born to a Rajput the father will get an acre of land, the custom may be said to be fast vanishing. The happy results of these measures have already begun to show themselves as at the current Census the female proportion of Rajputs has risen from 729 to 734.

¹⁶² (2) *Neglect of Female Children.*—The neglect of female children exhibits itself in two different shapes—deliberate and unconscious. If the neglect of parents is intended to bring about the death of the female infant it amounts to infanticide but if on the other hand the neglect is not deliberate but due partly to habit and partly to greater regard for the sons who are better looked after than the daughters it is unconscious neglect. The cases of deliberate neglect are getting fewer and fewer with the advancement of civilization while unconscious neglect is still in vogue. This naturally takes place more among the poor whose slender means and little education do not allow them to maintain equality between children of both sexes. As already shown above this kind of neglect will be found more in Kashmir where exposures and chills to infant daughters are not attended to so promptly as in the case of sons, slightest trouble to whom summons immediate medical assistance. In the Jammu Province also the unconscious neglect is common but the climate being milder the children can carry through the mild winter even with poor clothing and chances of exposure are not so great as in Kashmir.

¹⁶⁵ (3) *Early Marriages.*—The practice of early marriage creating child wives and even mothers aged 11 or 12 years is responsible for greater mortality of females on account of too early conception. With the passing of the Regulation preventing marriage of girls under 14 and boys under 18 the practice may be said to have received its death blow and other conditions being favourable we should expect a better proportion of females at the next Census. The practice which was so common in the Duggar has given a serious set-back to the growth of Hindu population of the State which during the last forty years has shown a very unsatisfactory increase.

¹⁶² (4) *Deaths due to Child-birth.*—It is a well-known fact that many deaths of females in India take place at the time of child-birth which is due to the unskillful midwifery and septinaemia.

¹⁶⁶ (5) *Hard treatment to Women.*—The young wives are generally subjected to hard treatment at the hands of the mother-in-law while the young widows are regarded as a curse in Hindu families.

¹⁶⁶ (6) *Hard Work.*—Over work or work under harder conditions coupled with the usual trouble of looking after the family, cooking the meals and doing several other things under unsanitary conditions within the four walls of the house also tells upon the health of women. The Purdah system further affects their health adversely.

✱ [Errata: read 'for' of errata sheet, p. 219, category 116 -- Analysis]

their proportion yet their aggregate proportion for all ages is the best which is due to the fact that in subsequent age-groups they not only maintain the sex-ratio of their entire group but substantially increase female proportion to 1,114 in group (14-16), 1059 in 17-23. They stand the highest in age-groups 7-13, 17-23, 24-43 and 44 and over while in group 14-16 they are excelled by the Chamars. The broad reason for this satisfactory proportion is that the community being largely agriculturist the females dwell in rural areas, the active agricultural and open air life of which is conducive to better health and comparatively low mortality of females than in other castes like the Kashmiri Pandits and Khatri who are predominantly town-dwellers amidst congested surroundings. The religious objection against infanticide also keeps the proportion of female children comparatively higher. The Maghs and Chamars who also work on fields either as peasant proprietors or mostly as tenants and field labourers also show similar results. The Rajputs continue to occupy the last place in respect to sex-ratio and it is hoped that with the introduction of measures against female infanticide in this community the proportion will naturally improve at future Censuses. Not only is there a defect in the age-group 0-6 but this is aggravated in 7-13 which indicates the existence of the factor of neglect of female children and partially the reticence against disclosure of the particulars about girls approaching marriageable ages. 162^x

Shifting our analysis towards the Muslims it is apparent that the Balhi tops the list with 1,033 females and is closely followed by Shin (964), Brukpa (958), Jat (930), Sayed (921), Rajput (919), Rafinda (916) while Kashmiri Muslims have only 851. The Balhi continues to show a fair excess of females over males at this Census as in the last and we cannot dissent the figure as unusual. Although a large share of this excess is attributable to emigration of good portion of Balhi males at the time of Census yet we cannot help subscribing to the view that there is a great excess in female birth-rate as is evidenced by the proportion of 1,020 female children between 0-6 to 1,000 males in the same age-period. The healthy and active life of the Brukpas who mostly constitute the pastoral population of the Frontier and the Shins who are a primitive tribe is responsible for better proportion of the females. The proportion of 1,037 given by the Muslim Rajputs at the 1921 Census which then appeared unreliable has been proved to be so by the figures of this Census which gives a round of 919 only. The Jat, Rafinda and Sayed also give fairly satisfactory proportions while the Kashmiri Muslims are in defect for causes already detailed in the preceding paragraph.

121. *Influence of Social Conditions and Local Customs*.—The decade has witnessed remarkable improvement in the social customs of various communities due to the spread of education and civilization. The system of early marriage which was so common in both the provinces and especially amongst the Hindus who literally followed the injunctions of their scriptures in celebrating child marriages has now become a thing of the past—thanks to the Ruler of the State who out of solicitude for his subjects laid statutory prohibitions against this harmful system and drove out of his realm this most injurious social custom. Although the Arya Samaj and some advanced people even among the orthodox Hindus have made strenuous efforts to popularize widow remarriage yet their efforts have not yet produced the desired beneficial results and the instances of widow marriage amongst the State Hindus are few and far between. The Purdah system has during the decade lost much of its intensity. The rural and labouring classes observe very little Purdah while the people of the middle classes are now giving greater freedom to their women-folk. The progress amidst the higher circles has been greater and it is now become a fashion for the well-to-do to take their wives with them to the Cossman or for sailing of which the Suddars of the Nisbat and Shikhar gardens of Srinagar and the flocking of people every evening to pass summer evenings on the Jhelum canal are living instances. A good deal of social reform has taken place amongst the Kashmiri Pandits whose women have discarded the loose and untidy dress of centuries and are now in up-to-date Indian Saris. The return of scholars of various communities after training in the foreign countries has imparted far more advanced and liberal ideas the pervasion of which in their respective communities is everyday liberating the atmosphere. 178 [582] [587] [562] [177]

1/2 [Errata: see category 46, p. 329 for corrections -- Analysis]

an unequal number of families in different groups. Had the table shown details year by year or by equal age-periods we would have been more sure of our ground. Instead of having the group 20-29 it would have been better to have quinquennial age-groups 20-25, 25-30 and so on, as then it would have been possible for us to see whether 20-25 would not be more suitable age for husbands than 15-19. The old Shastric period of Brahmcharya also points to the suitability of the 25th year when the marriages of men were generally celebrated after they had completed their studentships. We should not, however, be over-enthusiastic in building conclusions just now on insufficient materials which should be tested by subsequent investigations of similar nature.

141. **Size of Family by duration of Marriage.**—Table VII shows the effect of duration of period of marriage on fertility of the family for important castes of each religion and for purposes of detailed comparison it is further necessary to work out the details for the same members of different castes. Out of the large number of castes tabulated in the main table only eleven important castes have been singled out for showing effects and some useful results about fertility which are detailed in the sub-joined table.

Duration of present marriage in years.	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN AFTER THE 2ND MARRIAGE.											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Below 10	..	118	304	177	186	166	189	164	186	164	197	264
10 years	..	507	174	314	413	363	86	361	178	354	186	499
Over 10 and under 20	..	188	417	384	361	516	153	360	330	493	331	613
Between 20 and 30	..	465	513	465	465	479	553	565	565	565	565	413
30 years	..	557	543	465	474	557	543	565	565	..	755	565
30 and over	..	610	564	610	567	575	669	567	565	665	667	565

142. **Table VIII: Proportion of Sterile Marriages.**—See Table VIII deals with absolute figures of sterile and fertile marriages with reference to the duration of married life, and the age of the wife at marriage.

The marginal table has been prepared from Table VII and shows the proportion of sterile and fertile marriages per 100 of total marriages, for different durations of marriage periods. It will at once be noticed that the sterility is highest or fertility lowest when the duration of marriage period is below 5 years. Even under the group 0-4 it will be apparent that when the wife's age is 13 or 14 the sterility is high but between 20-24 the proportion of sterile marriages falls considerably from 61 per

Age of wife at marriage.		Percentage of children in 100 marriages.							
		0-4		5-9		10-19		20 and over	
		♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀
10	...	61	59	54	50	5	50	10	60
11	...	56	45	50	50	50	50	10	60
12-13	...	56	56	5	56	50	50	10	60
14-15	...	55	56	4	56	5	56	10	60
16-19	...	48	55	5	55	50	50	10	60
20 and over	...	55	55	5	55	5	55	10	60
Total	...	55	55	70	55	50	55	10	60

cent, to 21 per cent, while if the wife is married after 25 sterility is again found to increase. The cause of high childlessness at 13 and 14 is also to be partially

explained. The cause of high childlessness at 13 and 14 is also to be partially

TABLE IX: AGE OF MOTHER AT FIRST BIRTH

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sought in the fact that in most of the cases although the marriage ceremonies have been celebrated the real consummation of marriage is put off by some years especially when the husband is young and engaged in studies. The tendency amongst the educated parents to marry their sons after completion of their educational careers is on the rise and if in some exceptional circumstances the marriage is celebrated earlier there is a strong desire to put off the consummation till the boy is fixed up in life. The childlessness is gradually on the decrease as the period of married life increases till after completion of 15 years of marriage the sterility is reduced to below 4 per cent. (ranging from 1.4 per cent. to 3.5 per cent.). In the marriage duration group 5-9 sterility is at the minimum when the wife is married at the age of 20-24 years while in the groups 10-14 and '15 and over' the minimum is shifted to the age 14. It is generally observed that the postponement of marriage age of females beyond 25 generally increases sterility while the best fertility is exhibited by wives married between 15-24. That fertility increases with the increase in the period of duration of marriage is also sufficiently established by the statistics contained in the last two columns of the above table.

163. Table IX: Age of mother at first birth.—Table IX Part A which has been prepared from the cases of completed fertility only shows the age of the mother at first birth for different castes. The figures indicate that out of a total of 3,035 mothers only 19 were below thirteen years and 20 became mothers at the age of 13-14 years which proves that motherhood at the age of less than fourteen years is growing exceedingly rare as the proportion of such mothers per 1,000 works out to 6 and 7 mothers only. The higher groups 14-15, 15-16 and 16-20 respectively contribute 22, 58 and 154 mothers to every thousand mothers while the last group (20 and over) that is when the age of the mother is 20 years and over contains 753 or say $\frac{1}{8}$ of mothers. The figures would seem to point to a healthier state of affairs and if these statistics possess the necessary degree of reliability it may be concluded that although above 30 per cent. marriages in the State and about 75 per cent. amongst the Hindus and the Sikhs are celebrated before the bride's age reaches 19 years as has been shown in connection with Table IV, actual motherhood in 75 per cent. cases starts at 20 years and after and consequently the dangers of early conception are now being gradually eliminated as 20 years is not insufficient age for conception in a hot country like India where girls mature earlier than in the case in the cold countries. The inset table which has been extracted from the Sex Table IX presents the results for a few important castes of each religion for the same number of mothers i. e., 1,000 mothers to enable the comparisons of like quantities for the

AGE OF MOTHER AT FIRST BIRTH.

Religion and Caste	Below 13	13-14	14-15	15-16	16-20	20 and over
A. Hindu						
Brahmin	11	10	26	42	262	649
Kshatriya	10	10	20	30	120	570
Vaisya	10	10	10	100	210	660
Other	10	10	10	27	200	600
B. Muslim						
Muslim	9	9	10	10	100	671
Other	10	9	10	27	170	600
Other	10	10	10	10	100	600
Other	10	10	10	10	10	600
Other	10	10	10	10	10	600
C. Sikh						
Sikh	9	10	10	10	10	600
Other	10	10	10	10	10	600
D. Other						
Other	10	10	10	10	10	600
Grand Total	9	9	10	10	100	600

SEX TABLE VIII

PROPORTION OF FERTILE AND STERILE MARRIAGES.

Age of cattle at sacrifice.		Duration of fattening trials.							
		0-4		5-9		10-14		15 and over.	
		Fatless.	Fatless.	Fatless.	Fatless.	Fatless.	Fatless.	Fatless.	Fatless.
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
FATT A.									
12			1	2	3	40	407		
14	..	6	1	0	10	10	1,400	17	
16 to 18	..	10	0	0	0	97	6,000	60	
20 to 24	..	6	1	0	0	0	2,000	100	
26 to 30	..	11	1	0	0	0	1,117	100	
32 and over	..	0	7	0	10	119	100	64	
FATT B.									
12	..	600	407	1,000	100	2,007	60	6,500	97
14	..	600	1,000	1,000	100	4,000	100	16,000	100
16 to 18	..	2,007	1,000	11,000	700	10,707	400	80,000	100
20 to 24	..	1,000	1,000	6,000	100	8,000	100	6,700	100
26 to 30	..	600	100	700	10	0	0	1,000	100
32 and over	..	0	100	600	0	0	0	1,000	100

SEX TABLE IX.

AGE OF MOTHER AT FIRST BIRTH (COMPLETED FERTILITY CASES)

Grade or Religion.		Age or Number of Years' Service.					
		Below 10	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30 and over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Protestant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Catholic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Methodist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Baptist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Presbyterian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Episcopal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

EARLY MARRIAGE

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While in the State there are nearly 40 per cent. married females we have 000 in England and Wales only about 38 per cent. of females in married condition. Against 40 per cent. unmarried females in the State the figures of England show about 54 per cent. spinsters, while widowhood is confined to only 8.2 per cent. there, against about 11 per cent. in the State. The figures leave no doubt about the special preference among the English women for the unmarried state.

180. **Early Marriages.**—The second feature of the Indian Census is the early age of marriage, evils of which have been sufficiently explained in the preceding chapters on sex and fertility. It will here suffice to invite a reference to the *Subsidiary Table 1* which shows that amongst the males no child is married before the age of 5 while in the group 5-10 and 10-15, 18 and 51 boys per 1,000 were returned as married. The increase in the married proportion of the males from 13 to 18 per mille during the decade 1921-1931 in the age-period 10-15, for the whole State as well as under the different religions is mainly due to the anxiety of the parents to celebrate as many infant marriages as possible before the enforcement of the Infant Marriages Prevention Regulation of 1905 which prohibited marriages of girls below fourteen and of boys below eighteen years of age. It is hoped that these columns will be blank at the next Census. The proportion of marriages between 15-20 has increased from 280 to 300 which shows that the effects of the Regulation are manifesting themselves in practice by shifting the ages of males to legally marriageable age-groups. In the group 20-40, 40-60 and 60 and over the proportion has decreased. As already observed it may be asserted with confidence that with the passing of the Regulation the institution of early marriage would soon be wiped out of existence. The evils of early marriage are too numerous to mention and we may only refer to the two important results to which it generally leads *e.g.* (1) *The pre-fertility intercourse* which is the essential concomitant of child marriage inflicts serious physical injuries upon the girl-wife and many a premature birth involves risk to the life of the wife, (2) in the event of the husband's death the child-wife becomes a widow for life. 000 The following table gives for England and Wales statistics regarding the civil condition of the population in thousands at certain age-periods:—

Age-period.	Males					Females				
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
All ages	16,370	1,500	1,070	800	0	16,800	1,600	1,000	1,000	0
Under 10	4,000	4,000	---	---	---	4,000	4,000	---	---	---
10-15	1,700	1,700	1	0	0	1,700	1,700	0	0	0
15-20	1,600	1,100	100	0	0	1,700	1,000	0	0	0
20-25	1,500	0	700	0	1	1,500	0	0	0	1
25-30	1,500	0	0	10	1	1,500	0	1,000	0	1
30-35	1,500	0	0	0	0	1,500	0	1,000	100	0
35-40	1,500	0	1,700	100	0	1,500	0	1,000	100	0
40-45	1,500	100	1,000	100	1	1,500	0	0	0	1
45-50	100	0	0	100	0	100	0	0	0	0
50 and over	0	0	100	100	0	0	0	0	0	0

The table shows at a glance that there is not a single male or female who is married at the age of less than 15 years while the age-group 15-19 has only 4 per cent. married males and 1.7 per cent. married females. Even the 20-24 group has only 23 per cent. males and 27 per cent. females. This clearly indicates that marriage before 20 is practically non-existent in England and Wales while in this State the 15 to 20 group has 30 per cent. males and 30 per cent. females in the married condition. Even 10-15 age-group has 21 per cent. married females which evidences the existence of early marriage.

[Errata: cf. category 116, p. 330 for corrections.]
Analysis]

140 181. The Preponderance of the Widows.—The current Census has enumerated 114,105 widowers and 183,938 widows which establishes the characteristic preponderance of the widows over the widowers. The proportion for the entire State works to 5.4 per cent. widowers and 107 per cent. widows, as against 3.4 per cent. widowers and 82 per cent. widows recorded by the Census of England and Wales in 1921. The interest will be brought home by the fact that while in the State out of 183.39 widows there are 10,325 widows of age below 25, the English Census of 1921 on the other hand discloses only 4,000 such widows in the total population of 1,022,000 widows which yields a proportion of 5 per cent. for the State and .3 per cent. for England leading to the conclusion that widowhood before 25 is practically non-existent among the English women.

While 905 per 1,000 female are married and 73 widowed in the age-period 20-40, it will be a real surprise to find the statistical ratio undergoing change in the next age-group 40-60 which has only 584 married females and 410 widows per mille and in the next higher group 60 and over the widows proportion increases to 778. In this connection the widowed state amongst the males increased from 83 to 226 in the group 40 to 60 and 380 in 60 and over. The preponderance of the widows over the widowers is a constant feature of the Indian Census and arises from the comparative longevity of females but mainly from the greater freedom of marriage amongst the widowers and prohibition of widow re-marriage amongst the Hindu and only partial prevalence of the custom in other communities.

A reference to Subsidiary Table I reveals a sudden jump into widowhood as the females pass from 20-40 group into 40-60. In the 20-40 group there are only 75 widows per 1,000 while in the 40-60 group there is a sudden expansion of the widows proportion to 410 per 1,000 which is about six times higher than the preceding group. The increase in the case of males proceeds more gradually from 83 in the group 20-40 to 226 in the group 40-60 and 380 in 60 and over.

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[762] The explanation for the large proportion of widows is to be found in the custom of child marriage coupled with the evil of pre-puberty intercourse which inflicts serious physical injuries upon the immature persons, and age in the last life of many a young husband turning the poor child-wife to perpetual widowhood. The practice of marriage of old men (especially of the married class) who already stand upon the threshold of the next world with young virgins in the bloom of life further increases the proportions of the widows since the mysterious hand of death soon lies upon the bridegroom who is soon called upon to exchange the warmth of a nuptial bed for the icy chilliness of the tomb. The third and the strongest cause responsible for the superabundance of widows, which is chiefly contributed by the Hindus, is the injunction of the Hindu Shastras which enjoin enforced widowhood and prohibit re-marriage of the widows of the first three castes—The Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas. Neither reversion nor widow re-marriage is possible. The wife is expected to look upon her husband as an embodiment of God and after conscious submission to his will and dictates during life and in the case of his death the widow is expected a religious life of the simplest charity and prayer and is not to think of a fresh union but to practise fasts and austerities. The sacredness of the perpetual union led to the practice of 'Sati' wherein the widows burnt themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands to remain united to the sacred bond of marriage even in death. Such being the rigorous austerities it was only natural that observance of this institution should be followed with great strictness by the followers of Hinduism and in spite of the law permitting widow re-marriage and the activities of various social organizations especially the Arya Samaj, the Hindu society has not been able to shake or the shadow although the state with a few instances of widow re-marriage beyond them. The Hindus and Jains and even some Muslim castes of the State observe the prejudice against widow marriage although in the interior of the Deogarh country among the Thakurs and some other castes of the hills, some lastly converts and the widows are taken over as wives by the brothers of the deceased husband. The Muslims and Christians of the State also do not practice it on a large scale though their religion permits such marriage.

8 [Kumar: read upon; aerrata sheet, p. 230, category 116 -- Analysis]

higher Hindu castes such as the Brahmins, the Rajputs and the Khatri also show higher proportions of the unmarried and lower proportions of the married males which is due to the restrictions of endogamy and exogamy and other customs which considerably narrow down the circle of marriage and increase the difficulty of finding suitable brides. The twice-born castes of the Hindus (The Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas) particularly those following the orthodox Brahminic school observe with great strictness the endogamous castes and sub-castes and exogamous groups. No marriage can take place between people falling within the prohibited degrees of the Dharm Shastra (a.g. descendants down to the 7th degree through males or females of paternal ancestors upto the 7th degree; and descendants down to the 5th degree of maternal ancestors upto the 5th degree). The custom of hypergamy among certain higher castes requiring the husband of a girl in marriage to a person belonging to equal or higher social group again places further obstacles in the way of marriage. This is sufficiently borne out by the figures under age-group 17-23 wherein Kashmiri Pandits (727), Khatri (708), Rajputs (641) and Brahmins (628) all have a high proportion of the unmarried and a poor proportion of the married males. The absence of the above restrictions among the Shudra class is responsible for the lowest unmarried and highest married proportions as among the Chamars who have 487 unmarried and 487 married males in the group 17-23. The most favourable result is again shown by the depressed caste of Maghs who have 361 unmarried and 423 married males per mille.

In the category of the widowers aged 44 and over, the Kashmiri Pandits present the highest proportion (154) and are closely followed by the other higher castes Rajputs (100), the Brahmins (97) and Khatri (96), the lower castes of Chamar and Magh showing 64 and 70 widowers per mille which is due to the fact of their taking up widows as wives under various customs which recognise such unions as legitimate ones.

Among the Muslims in the age-group 17-23 the Rajputs have the highest proportion of the unmarried males (371) and the lowest married males which is due to their still adhering in practice the customs of their Hindu brothers in this respect and the diffusion of matrimony still keeping many members of the community in unmarried state. Next to Rajputs come the Sayeds (363), Yashins (334), the Grijas, the Bhatti and the Jats, showing the lowest proportion of the unmarried and the highest proportion of the married males due to their being more liberal in respect of marriage. The proportion of widowers as shown by the age-group 44 and over is highest amongst the Jats (270) and lowest in the Sayeds (203). As regards the Sikhs and the Budhists their civil condition has already been discussed under the paragraph dealing with religions, and the communities being small, details by further caste have not been given.

Civil condition of females by caste is also given in Subsidiary Table V from which it is seen that the Kashmiri Pandits and the Khatri present the largest number of the unmarried females and the lowest number of married females in both the 7-13 and 14-16 groups which shows that early marriage is these two communities is the least in evidence; while the highest proportion of married females in these groups is presented by the Jats, Chamars and Maghs all of whom belong to the lower castes (the last two constituting among others the depressed classes of the State). In these castes the religious restrictions against marriage within prohibited degrees being non-existent and their free outdoor life either as agricultural or labourers being conducive to greater liberty the early marriage has greater prevalence, especially when the birth of children instead of being regarded a burden on the family is looked on as a source of income when the children even in their tender age are sent out to labour and earn wages. Further the consideration of accumulating a big dowry for the marriage of girls which is a source of constant anxiety to the higher classes is almost negligible in these castes where comparatively prostitution goes on at a much later age and in a casual manner. The cause of slightly higher proportions of the married females at these ages among the higher castes of Brahmins and Rajputs is due to be found in the fact that the members of these communities residing in the interior of the hills who follow the agricultural pursuits have also been

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